

Hail! Motherland

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INDIA'S STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

(LIFE OF MR. B. G. TILAK)

FOUGHT FOR WORLD'S LIBERTY

IS SHE TO REMAIN A MERE DEPENDENCY?

To Members, Yearly \$1.00

15c. a copy

To Others, Yearly \$1.50

A LAND TEN THOUSAND MILES AWAY

"If I were to look over the whole world to find out the country most richly endowed with all the wealth, power and beauty that nature can bestow, can you give a more pleasing an answer—I should point to India. If I were asked under what sky the human mind has most fully developed some of its greatest gifts, has most deeply pondered its greatest problems of life and has found solutions of some of those which will decide the greatest events of those who have called India and India I should point to India. And if I were to ask myself from what fountain we have in Europe and elsewhere that creative which is most sacred in order to make our more life more perfect, more comprehensive, more universal, in fact more truly human, again I should point to India." (F. Max Müller)



That most-poised land is India—ten-thousand miles

has area of 1,900,000 square miles

It is equal to

The whole of Europe except Russia
Nearly two thirds the size of the United States

Seven German Rhenans

Two Japanese and

Eleven British Isles

the population is 225 millions (1941 census)

It is equal to

One-third of the whole human race
Three times the population of the United States

Four times that of Germany

Six times that of Japan and
Seven times the population of British Isles

It has attracted the attention of the whole world from time immemorial

The Vikings and the Persians,
the Greeks and the Romans,
the Tartars and the Moors,
the Portuguese and the Dutch,
the French and the English, all have been fascinated by the land of that land.

It was an island of this land—the land of highest wealth—than Columbia in its former and occasionally, toward America

It has given birth to a wonderful civilization which in half of the past 5000 years, the contribution to the world's culture is art and architecture, science and literature has been immense

It has given two great religions to the world—Buddhism and also, Hinduism, which Mohammedanism and Christianity have found a congenial place in it.

India's universal and vital spirit, its grandeur, its immensities, its soul is rich.

To day India's economical condition is very pitiable. The average annual per capita income of an Indian is about ten dollars.

India's efficiency is standing at the very bottom. Efficiency is not one of her people's characteristics. The people plant the cotton, but it is not given to them.

If the world is to be reconstructed and if it is to be made safe for a democracy, this land and its 225 million people must not be neglected.



BAL GANGADHAR TILAK

YOUNG INDIA

DECEMBER, 1918

Vol. 1



No. 12

EDITORIAL NOTES AND NEWS

Our Congratulations.

The following telegram was sent to President Wilson on the day when the armistice was signed and the great war came to an end:

Members of the India Home Rule League of America beg to offer respectful congratulations to the Government of the United States on the magnificent victory which the United States and the Allies have won over the Teutonic Powers. They hope that this victory of democracy over autocracy will be followed up by an unflinching pursuit of autonomy to India and other countries under the rule of the Allies.

The cablegram sent to the Secretary of State for India, London, reads as follows:

India Home Rule League (and) American Congress fully offer (their) sincere congratulations that Great Britain (and) hope that India's (their) in an international step toward Home Rule (will) be seriously considered.

The Victory.

Thank God, the greatest and the bloodiest war in the history of the world is over. The Teutonic Powers have met with a crushing defeat and are completely at the mercy of the Entente Allies and the United States. It is a victory of right, backed by might over pure right. It is a victory of democratic peoples over autocratic powers.

Great Britain has come out of this struggle even stronger and more powerful than ever. The fate of the world is virtually in the hands of Great Britain and the United States. These two can lead the world to a state of co-operative progress based on the right of each nation to exist and live on its own way, subject to the limitation that it does not injure anybody else and does not block the progress of humanity towards higher ideals. The war aims of the Allies and the United States were unquestionably noble and eloquent. But victory like this, although extremely gratifying in the victorious parties, carries with it grave dangers. The Island empire of England and the United States are already showing signs of coming second events in both countries have made them nervous about the future. Although confident of the ultimate triumph of democracy they are not quite sure whether the immediate outcome of this victory will endorse so firmly and so unambiguously those principles for which this war has been fought. Never before in her long history had Great Britain such power to control the destinies of the world—for good or for evil—as she has now.

India being a dependency of Great Britain is directly and immediately in-

expressed in the various kind of British imperial policy. We can only say that we will watch the development of events with hope and anxiety.

First Anniversary Dinner.

The India House Bala League of America held its first anniversary dinner at the Hotel Grand on Wednesday, New York city on November 20, 1918. It was attended by about 200 persons. The function was presided over by Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard, the editor of *The Nation*. New York. Rev. John Haynes Holmes, Miss Henrietta Badger, Dr. J. T. Sunderland and Mr. Eugene B. spoke on the "Races structure in India." A full report of the speeches is printed elsewhere in this issue as reported by our friend, Mr. "Diva." The dinner was the first of its kind in the United States organized by a sympathetic organization of Hinduists in this country. It was a success in every way.

The House of Lords Debate.

It appears that the forces of reaction and privilege are determined to obstruct the Moslems Christened effort to persuade the Government of India about the issue discussed in their report. On October 30, 1918, Lord Lansdowne, MacDonnell, Middleton and others raised a debate in the House of Lords with the express object of derailing the well-merited. They proposed the appointment of a joint committee of the two Houses of Parliament to reconsider the whole question and report thereon. That is the usual way of shifting important schemes which are disadvantageous to the noble Lords. Lord Lansdowne laid particular stress on the inadvisability of applying democratic ideas to the East. Lords MacDonnell, Middleton and other made speeches supporting the position taken up by the Viceroy. Of these, in our judgment, that of Lord MacDonnell was a complete reply to Lord Lansdowne's misapprehensions. Referring to the noble Lord's obser-

ances about India's not being fit for democratic institutions, Lord MacDonnell said:

"A little more had been passed on the ultimate goal to which the dedicated soulled, was there no faith in them? Could Indian institutions ever be introduced into India? We raise questions then every day of the year. India was not governed for the Viceroy but by the Viceroy as Commander-in-Chief of the Empire. We had military Western planning and rule. Through our schools and universities we gave to Indian youth, education that we could obtain for ourselves. The change was made in India through the philosophy of Oxford and Cambridge. Western medical science had gone to India. Western jurisprudence had been placed in the Indian courts. Western methods and means of communication were all over the Peninsula. Could it then be really maintained that the Western system of representative government was the only thing that could ever be introduced into India?"

The Earl of Carron on behalf of the Government approved the proposal of Lord Middleton which was generally rejected by a narrow majority. Our contemporary of *Indian London* thinks that "Lord Curzon's speech was definitely more encouraging than might have been anticipated from his longwinded effort last August but it needs a warning note by emphasizing the extent to which reactionary opinion in the Upper House had organized since then." We do not know how far this view is justified. Lord Curzon is always deluged with cables and entreaties to regard the principles of this scheme.

Comments on the Debate.

Commenting upon the debate *The Times*, London, remarks:

"We can no more think the development of Western measures in India than we can think the applying for Western education. The trouble with all the critics who say that Western methods are unsuited to the East is that they never really grasp any practical alternative. More than Lord MacDonnell in this debate, their criticism is chiefly descriptive, or else amounts to a plea to have India as a special fiefdom outside the main orbit of human life."

We cannot do it, he the means. He means and the device no longer suffice to keep India isolated and her people in

deeply conscious of the new world movements stirring all about them. It is an answer to say that (a) when Oriental countries Western measures have failed, her people (India) were to be governed. It is an answer to point to India's dumb masses, who are oblivious of political changes, for so most countries from time-honored changes has a back set in motion in the long run when it could grow. And the States of Japan eventually against the changes which were initiated fifty years ago? In any case this country is bound by its powers, as Lord Curzon pointed out, and no useful purpose is served by looking back to first principles.

Compare Them Both.

The bloodlet of all the wars in the history of the world, the war that just came to an end, has, according to the unwarped reports, resulted in the loss of 7,600,000 human beings during a period of four years and two months. It is undoubtedly a high price that has been exacted by the Teutonic Imperialists' ambition but when we compare the same with the price that India pays for her backwardness in politics and economics, the same stagger at the enormity of the losses. During the period of four years, from 1913 to 1914 inclusive, India lost, according to Government report, 33,711,346 human beings, a number nearly four times that of the total human loss during the war which lasted fifty months.

Year	Deaths
1911	2,689,544
1912	7,090,984
1913	6,943,038
1914	7,125,771
4 years	28,711,346

India and the British "Empire."

On March 7, 1918, Mr. Oscar Law, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, thus spoke in the House of Commons:

"We are a great Empire Power and any one who regards the reputation (German means to India) is all clearly well content that the new which is taking of our position in India is small not merely a question of morals or prestige, but it is a question of our strength in India, and of what possible

perhaps may come from it. (The speaker was over.)

Just before leaving England for India in February, Lord Curzon said: "India is the pivot of our Empire. If the Empire has any other part of an importance as India cannot, but it is not India, the axis of our Empire would be lost." (From *The Times*, London, December 3, 1910.)

Mr. William Harcourt in his speech in the House of Commons, on March 5, 1892, thus spoke:

"As long as you find the people of India your British subjects, the politics and policy of your rule, your (British) Empire will be safe."

The London Times of July 20, 1890, quoted Lord Roberts (now dead) as having said:

"The existence of our Empire (India) is essential to the greatness and prosperity of the United Kingdom."

India Starving.

Discussing the solution of poverty, the correspondent of *The Times*, London, in an article published in the issue of October 10, 1918, says:

"In many parts of the country food-stuffs are scarcer than in the worst famine periods. The hardship of the post war conditions. Although the rains have been a considerable area, there is sufficient food in the country to a whole. The problem is one of transportation and the prevention of hoarding. It is the last food governments have not been and are not sufficiently able."

And, London dated October 20, 1918, reports that "Considerable anxiety is felt regarding the scarcity of food grains and fuel during the coming winter over large areas of Madras, Bombay, the United Provinces, the Punjab, Rajasthan, and Central India."

"Crop prospects in India are so poor that the government has prohibited the export of food stuffs." (*The Evening Post*.)

India Can Not Be Ignored.

In the course of an address at Bradford (England), Mr. H. A. L. Fisher (Minister of Education) reminded his audience of the position of India. He said:

Given Africa's great natural resources, heavily drawn to the attention of the international community through the impact of international and the locally which thus depend on the state, it is not surprising that the state has been the focus of much international attention. The state is seen as the primary agent for the development of the continent, and the state is seen as the primary agent for the development of the continent, and the state is seen as the primary agent for the development of the continent.

Lyell, James 1830-1897

Mr. Norman Angell, the famous English pacifist, in a letter to Mr. Lloyd Garrison, expressing his regret at his inability to attend the universal peace congress.

"The object of your League has, my most sincere good wishes. The assistance of great civilized communities denied self-government is not only a menace to democracy, but to peace. The European world is still in danger of slipping to delinquency who shall be the masters of those communities. There is only one way to settle that—there we must go, they must."

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Mr. S. P. Saha, in the course of an address on the "General Life in Bengal," stated recently that:

Organized action to effect better relations between the English in India and the natives, official and unofficial, ought to occupy more attention in the future than it has done in the past. General observations had frequently been made concerning the necessity for removing any allusion to the English making the dominated Indian use of themselves, but history, on constitutional grounds, had been produced, and it was impossible to estimate the amount of influence created by the rule, or the compensation, which made it easier for an Indian not to

[illegible]

The Rise of A Movement

By: Marvin, Marvin, Marvin
and Marvin, Marvin

A. *Antennae and sensory appendages*

- I. *The End of the Sea? (The Atlantic as a Mirror, the Indians' View on the Pacific, Two Chinese Sea Voyages)*
- II. *Heaven and Blood (China Travels in the Face of the Pacific, The Blood of an Amazon, The Blood of the Sea, The Pacific Atlantic, No End of the Road, The Road to the End of the Road)*
- III. *Spices and Sausages (Jamaicans of the Nile, Korea in Spain, In North China, Malagasy Sausages, A Chinese in Spain, Blood, The Blood of the Sea, The Blood of the Sea)*
- IV. *"What Love Means for the World, and for the World" (The Women's Power, China's Relations to the World, The World's Relations to China, The World's Relations to the World, The World's Relations to the World)*
- V. *Flowers (Robert Browning's "The Flowers of the Field", The Flowers of the Field, The Flowers of the Field, The Flowers of the Field)*

Province	City	Province	City
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TO OUR COUNTRYMEN

THE LEFT HAND

With this number, *Young India* completes the first year of its existence. The League has already celebrated its first anniversary. Since we are now free from the danger of being misunderstood as hampering the progress of war activities, we are putting forth energy on our work.

For work in that of education and consolidation. We are more than ever convinced that our interests will ultimately depend upon our consolidation and united action, backed by the public opinion of Great Britain and the United States. The main field of our operations lies at home. It is there that we have to build, organize and consolidate. But then there comes the day of doing things in some kind of such a way, wherever our committees are to be found as members. We have not realized how important it is to have the moral backbone of the world union for con-

✻-✻ We must work to secure them world-fucking. The only possible way is to educate and enlighten the people of the world by disseminating knowledge of India and Indian conditions. For that purpose, we wish to make an earnest appeal to every Hindu in this country to join the *Haras Kashi League* and lend it his or her support.

If India is ever to be free and great the present generation of Indians must pledge themselves to a life of constant sacrifice and toil. Ours is the privilege of laying the foundations of future India on our sufferings. Ours is the privilege of laboring hard without thinking of comfort and convenience. And it will be the right of our children and our children's children to enjoy the fruits.

The agony of our mother calls for extraordinary emotions and sacrifices on our part. The emergency of our problem and the extraordinary situa-

tion of our country instead of discouraging us ought to lead us to greater effort and greater sacrifice, and the hope that eventually our success too will be great. We want such every Mohammedan in the United States to hang in his or her room a small map of India with figures of mortality, income and education, written or printed in large characters. Every moving these figures shall be the first thing these eyes will see, and every night these shall be the last to be seen. We shall be able to measure introspectively what in the course of the day he did towards the millions of his fellowmen.

We know of only one religion—the love of motherland. We know of only one method to serve her—by united and continuous work for her. She is the object of our worship. It is through worshipping her that we will obtain communion with God.

Young men of India! The war that has just passed could have its own lessons for you. You have seen the soldiers of the world who have sacrificed their lives have even up their homes, have undergone great sufferings in the cause of freedom and for the sake of their respective countries. Our men have borne their share in the struggle but by no means commensurate with our numbers. We were not in a position to play a greater part in the struggle, because we were neither fit nor free to do so. We hope that great work such as the last will be an responsibility on the Nation. But the struggle between liberty and tyranny, freedom and oppression, is not likely to end. We have to play our part in that struggle. Shall we do it willingly, courageously and in a very worthy of the country to which we belong as shall we do it halfheartedly, gradually and half-bravely? The answer is obvious.

His majesty, the King-Emperor, in his message to these troops when they were about to leave France, at the close of 1918, expressed—

"You leave France with a just pride in honor of the deeds already achieved."

In a recent letter, Lord French the First Commander-in-Chief of British forces on the Western front, writes—

"When the Indian troops first arrived in October, 1914, the situation was of so drastic a nature that it was necessary to call upon them at once to re-enforce the fighting front and help to stem the great German thrust. Their fighting qualities, tenacity, and endurance were well manifested during the first Battle of Ypres before they had been able to completely reorganise after their escape from India."

Former Lloyd George, while speaking on "Man-Power" before the Irish Home-Rule League on April 9, 1918, confessed that it was the Indian Army which stopped the Turkish-German danger to the border of India. Said the Premier—

"In Mesopotamia, there is only one white division in all, and in Egypt and in Palestine together there are only two white divisions, and the rest are either Indians or mixed with a very small proportion of British troops."

FACTORY OVER THE TUNES

Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of State for India, in his congratulatory telegram to General Allenby, said—"At a moment when great successes are being won by British and Dominion troops on the Western front, I rejoice to feel that Indian cavalry and infantry should have had the opportunity of contributing in so large a measure and with characteristic gallantry to the magnificent victory in the East."

To this General Allenby replied—

"Indian cavalry and infantry have taken a leading and brilliant part in the fighting and have earned a great share in the honors of victory."

Lord Chelmsford, the Governor-General of India, on September 26, 1918, remarked—

"In the latest Palestine victory, India could proudly claim a glorious share. Great forces had gone to Palestine, recruited from British India and the native states, as also by Gurkhas from Nepal. The full story of the Palestine victory will remain to be told, BUT WHEN THE RECORD OF THAT GLOIOUS CAMPAIGN WAS UNFOLDED, ACROSS THE PAGE OF HISTORY WOULD BE WRIT LARGE THE NAME OF INDIA."

On September 26, 1918, Mr. Bower Law then spoke of the victory in Palestine—"This victory in Palestine has this great additional attraction for us, that the largest part of the army which achieved it is composed of Indian troops."

Major General Sir Frederick Maunsell wrote in *The New York Times*, dated November 8, 1918—

As is usual in our history, we have triumphed after many sad blunders and in the end we have defeated Turkey almost single-handed, though our main forces have throughout the war been engaged with another foe. In fact, IT IS TO INDIA THAT OUR RECENT VICTORY IS DUE."

Mr. Austen Chamberlain, while Secretary of State for India, said that the Indian Army had served for the first time in a great European War, it had been employed not only in France, but in Egypt, in Gallipoli, at Aden, in East and West Africa and in Mesopotamia. WHEREVER THERE HAD BEEN WORK TO DO AND STOUT HEARTS HAD BEEN NEEDED, INDIA HAD SENT HER SONS TO PLAY THEIR PARTS with the men of other portions of the Empire in defence of their Sovereign's Crown and of the Nations of the Empire to which they belong.

A FEW FACTS AND FIGURES

We run up India's war contribution in the words of *The Manchester Guardian*, dated October 12, 1918—

"Up to July 31, 1918, India contributed no fewer than 1,115,189 man (probable equivalents only) to the British Army, and she has lost countless by death and disease 29,642 of all ranks."

"Indian officers in all branches of the service have done magnificent work, and the Indian Army has received 5,515 decorations and brevet promotions."

"The first Indian War Loan reached £40,000,000, and the second has been more than equally successful."

"India has assumed the sole responsibility for material and outfitting land on £100,000,000 of Imperial war expenditure."

"India is the sole source for the forces in India, Mesopotamia, and Egypt of jam, marmalade, butter, cottoned, tinned beef, mutton, and biscuits, of boots, khaki drilled cord, helmets, gaiters, and puttees, socks, coats, and shirts, of cigarettes and tobacco, of galvanized iron tubes and buckets, of lanterns, lamps, and lanterns."

"India has sent to various theatres of war more than 1,500 miles of railway track, 250 engines, and 4,500 vehicles."

Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of State for India, made the following statements in the House of Commons on August 5, 1918.

"As far as India's 1917 exports to Great Britain and the Allies are concerned, they have included 1,385,000 tons of wheat, 34 million pounds of yarn, 2,750,000 pounds of wool and large quantities of army blankets, while India provided upward of 60 per cent of the boots manufactured in Great Britain."

Mr. Rangeswamy Iyengar, while speaking on the Indian Budget of 1917-1918, remarked—

"Here is a statement in regard to the help in our debt UNTIL THE END OF 1916—

1. Four expeditionary forces	300,000
2. Wages and reward	450,000
3. Transport, Marine, etc.	50,000

	800,000
Increase in Ughs since War	500,000

To end of 1916

"All these men have been trained in India and not in Salisbury as was the case with the colonies."

"Again, owing to contributions in money till 1916	
Military stores, services, and supplies	150,000,000
Advanced to Britain from Bombay, etc.	27,000,000
Deficit loans from Britain	50
	177,000,000

REMARKS

The above facts and figures are by no means exhaustive. We know that our financial and material contributions were much larger. At one time the whole of our gold reserves was transferred to England. In sending supplies to the Allies and the Army, we have starved our own population. In *The London Times* of October 30, 1918, it was said:—"In every parts of the country food grains are dearer than in the worst famine periods. The hardships of the poor are immense."

Note.—All capitals in the above are ours.

India's Need of Democracy

India is one of the most fertile countries in the world, rich in trees and fruits, plants and flowers, cereals and cotton, metals and minerals, and man and mind.

By reason of its human and natural resources it ought to be one of the richest, the proudest and the healthiest countries in the world.

Yet it is one of the poorest, most miserable and most unhappy.

Within the last forty-three years (from 1875 to 1918), it has lost 230 million human beings by deaths from droughts, diseases and famines. This number is equal to more than twice of the United States' population and five times that of the population of Great Britain.

India's national annual income is about three billion dollars, averaging only \$9.50 per capita. \$1.60 of this \$9.50 is paid toward governmental overheads.

Compare the same with the United States, whose national income is about 38 billion dollars, averaging about \$173 per capita. Only \$12 of these \$173 are given to taxes.

India needs "contentment and prosperity." "It is admitted that India was a very poor country, and unless the whole policy of *laissez faire* was changed it was likely to remain so. India had not been prosperous for a long time past, and was not prosperous now. Literally millions in India were on the border of starvation. Half the population never had a full meal to the day, and means must be found to remedy this state of things." (See S. P. Sinha, India's representatives at the Imperial War Cabinet.)

Its foreign trade, all told, is about 1,400 million dollars, which comes to less than \$5 per head, while that of the United States is about 9 billion dollars, averaging about \$39 per capita.

Of India's total foreign trade, before the war, 69.8 per cent. was with the United Kingdom and 3.1 with the United States.

The whole of its import and export trade (including shipping, banking, insurance, etc.), is in alien hands.

It imports mainly manufactured goods, while it exports raw products and food stuffs.

Only \$5.56 per cent. of its people are engaged in industry, transport and trade.

Its methods of agriculture are ancient and antiquated. It uses no machinery and no scientific devices to increase its produce. 72.72 per cent. of the people are engaged in agriculture.

Its most flourishing industries are in the hands of foreigners—its coal, paper, iron—almost exclusively, and textiles partly, in the hands of Indians and partly in the hands of the Europeans.

The natives are lack of education, lack of skilled labor and lack of capital. There has been no lack of goodwill on the part of the British nation which has ruled the country for over 150 years, but because of the autocratic, bureaucratic, undemocratic and purely capitalist nature of its political institutions, and of the denial of fiscal and political autonomy to the people of the land, the country has not made such progress as it should have.

The total revenues of India (1917-1918 estimates) amount to 475 million dollars. In 1914-1915 Budget over 160 million were provided for the military and less than 20 million dollars for education.

Research India has about 537,000 villages and cities and about 121,000 schools. If we exclude schools in the cities the average will come to about one for six or seven villages. The proportion of male scholars to male population is 4.7 per cent. and that of female scholars to female population only .94.

Mr. Montagu, the present State Secretary for India, has proposed certain changes in the form of the Indian Government, with a view to make it really becoming toward responsible government in that country.

These measures are by no means very liberal or very democratic. They do not concede the power of self-determination, nor fiscal or political autonomy. Yet they are being opposed by a powerful combination of imperious aristocrats and parasitical barons of Great Britain.

The world can never be made safe for democracy without India, with its 315 million people being enfranchised, educated and developed on modern lines. That is only possible by the grant of Home Rule—such as that which exists in Canada, Australia and South Africa.

"India will rot, and ought not to remain rot to be a barren of wood, and a drawer of water for the rest of the Empire." (Annie Chamberlain)

REVOLUTIONS

By A STUDENT OF REVOLUTIONS

Young LAWRENCE, BANARAS

THIRTY-SEVEN years ago I was a young man I was very fond of Maxmill the great Indian patriot and his writings. For a number of years I was in a way, attracted by the desire to read every thing written by or relating to him that was to be found in the English language. Some of these I read with much care. Maxmill's life and his writings have left an almost indelible impression on my mind. I do not accept all his views but I believe, that as the interests of his political spirit, the purity of his political motives and the high tone of his principles by his not have commended by an other great man in Europe or in America.

I at several years past I have made it an business to acquaint myself with the literature of revolutionary movements in the different parts of the world and from this rather extensive study I have been able to deduce certain general principles which I set forth below. I do not believe in "logos". Revolutions are alone dictated. Every revolution must have its own creed yet there are certain general principles underlying revolutionary movements which can safely be stated in general terms for the consideration of those who are interested in the subject.

1. No nation deserves to be free which does not wish to be free, and is not prepared to fight for it, it deserves. The latest endorsement of this principle comes from a most conservative quarter. Roger Law, the French Chancellor of the Exchequer speaking some months ago at the Law and Lord Mayor's banquet said, in reference to the situation in Russia that "an empire has been preserved broken which was not prepared to fight for it, which was not ready to make every sacrifice to drive the invader from her soil."

2. Revolutions were, principally by outside help - help to be ready for. By themselves most nations be made, it is true to-day an error.

3. The capacity to fight for freedom is as much a moral and a spiritual asset as it is physical and scientific.

4. Revolutions in order to be fruitful must have a moral and a humane foundation. They must have a popular basis and should be promoted only in the interest of general democracy. "For the people and by the people" must be their slogan.

5. Secret movements are a double edged weapon. While they may be necessary against unreformed and secret authority they must be justly guarded against the encroachment of selfish ambitions, and unscrupulous adventurers who may otherwise be tempted to use them for purposes of personal enrichment, and aggrandizement. The less secrecy a revolutionary movement has, the better for its moral and ethical side.

6. Discipline and judgment are as much necessary for the success of a revolutionary movement as courage and endurance.

7. No revolutionary movement can afford to be reckless in the expenditure of its own power. The revolutionaries are at a rule free. To destroy them recklessly is a crime more serious than ordinary murder. Against the revolutionaries who are prepared to die are more often than not, amongst the best and the bravest of their kind. Their premature loss in the early stages of the movement deprives the latter of an inspiring figure and helps to the front men of inferior moral calibre whose greed for power, access of personal ambition and unscrupulous displays the current of the movement and brings it to ruinous and reliable.

8. A revolutionary movement can not from an instant be run on absolutely

democratic lines. Yet the revolutionary movement must be not only of sweeping intellect, possessing to an extraordinary degree powers of leadership but also of moral character of the highest type. Revolutionary leadership is never only when lodged in men who have too many weaknesses of the flesh and are not disengaged for ever scrupulousness in money matters and in the temporal and disinterested use of their power.

9. The greatest asset of a revolutionary movement is the faith of its adherents. Their success in deflection, suppression and action will be only in proportion to their faith in the righteousness of their cause, their capacity to win by determination, persistence and courage, and more so in proportion to their faith in their personal righteousness—the deeper righteousness of their motives, their capacity for self control and self restraint and their readiness to put their cause above everything else.

10. A revolutionary movement must be based on reason and not on blind faith. The leaders must be fully conscious of the difficulties and obstacles in their way. They must not play to

the gallery too often, nor should they indulge in bluff too frequently.

11. In all representations to their effect, if there are any, they must be absolutely truthful and straightforward.

12. Almost all they must be possessed of an extraordinary amount of patience as distinguished from passiveness. The too much calculating and prudent revolutionary sometimes his golden opportunities for action slip off his hands. He thereby hampers the movement by his lack of vision and courage. But a man who by reckless bluff endangers the safety of his fellow workers and thereby causes depressing losses to the cause unconsciously brings about a demoralization which is even more fatal and dangerous kind.

13. Much should not be laid on temporary successes. The revolutionaries movement must have its martyrs. No movement so driven on the blood of its martyrs as a movement for free dom, has an organization which needs as adherents to commit death for the sake of martyrdom alone, a more diversified.

Our First Anniversary Dinner

By DICK

On November 26, 1918 the India Home Rule League of America celebrated its first anniversary. Its holding in the Grand Hotel in New York in a highly important dinner which at once played a very important part in the general program of the event of Home Rule for India among the advanced and liberal thinkers of the American Union who like the writer were among the small party which about a year ago were present at "the opening night" of the London session but felt that the dinner celebrating the first anniversary ought well for the future. There was depicted in the feeling of comradeship and it was inspiring to meet that in this occasion effort to form the basis of a world democracy well by serving the cause of Home Rule for India, all heart of care and mutual assistance could be in the feeling of fellowship was concerned but not

small. Indeed we should welcome our host a gathering of this sort and purpose had taken place in America in which to many notable men and women, from the front ranks of America's free democracy had been present.

Mr. GEORGE GEORGE VALLAN

of the New York Nation was in his large hall put it, concentrated for very time of what was democracy in America, united to movement, and through the impulse of the personal when it represented the first occasion he said that there was a bond of sympathy, held in special case of the sympathy laid down by the President of the United States was the principle of self-determination. And if a principle was a principle, it remained a principle for all nations. It was distinguished as applied and would include the Philosophy of England or any other country claiming a

world of the Indian people. While Mr. K. knew that his audience was provincial, he said that there should be no such thing as a purely local newspaper in India. "There is this little secret explanation. I would give confidence to know that one could make a two-centred or a tri-centred thing, and I was not with anyone here," Mr. K. thought that the Indian people could teach the Occidental world something even of it.

SYMPOSIUM OF INDIAN OPINION ON THE MONTAGU-CHELMSFORD SCHEME.

The Memorandum of the HON. M. M. MALAVIYA.

THIS gentleman holds a unique position in the public life of India. He is an elected member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council, a nominated member of the Royal Commission on Education, an ex-president of the Indian National Congress and the founder of the Hindu University. He is supposed to be to the confidence of the British Government, as well as the chief among the rulers of native states. He is the connecting link, so to say, between the outside and the inner-world elements of the Indian National Congress. His memorandum on the Montagu scheme, therefore, has a unique value of its own.

After complimenting the Secretary of State and the Viceroy for a report which is the result of "many months' careful discussion and careful deliberation," the writer gives a summary of the proposals and, the bulk of them as he considers an advance on the existing conditions, he thinks that "Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford are entitled to grateful acknowledgments."

"But in my opinion," adds he, "they do not go far enough to meet the requirements of the country." In his opinion, the reasons which the authors of these proposals advance for withholding full responsible government for the Provinces, and in not recommending even the beginnings of responsible government in the domain of central government are not suffi-

ciently weighty. He compares the conditions of India with that of other European countries, including Great Britain and the Colonies, showing that none of them were in any way better situated than India, at the time when they won the right to responsible government. He argues that poverty, lack of education, lack of interest in political affairs, have always been more or less the chief obstacles of political improvement, and that in the case of India, with a foreign government at the head of affairs, they by themselves constitute strong reasons for the Indian people being entrusted with political responsibility. He points out that nowhere in Europe or America was liberty made a test of franchise. The Indian people may be illiterate, but they are not lacking in intelligence as compared with corresponding classes in Europe.

The memorandum is closing the meeting complimented Mr. Rajagopal for "most eloquent and unimpeachable address."

He also meets the arguments based on religious and racial differences by citing parallel facts from the histories of Great Britain and Canada, and points out that religious differences cause no trouble in the administration of native states, nor, it appears by experience, have they been much in evidence in districts put in charge of native officers.

When recommending responsible government for Canada, Lord Dufferin remarked that in Canada he found "two nations warring in the bosom of a single state," with a struggle, not of principles, but of races. In his judgment, the most effective remedy to remove these racial obstacles, was the inauguration of responsible government. In reply to the objection that there is a very small educated class which is politically minded, and to which the power will be transferred, he replies that in every country, at the beginning of responsible government, the case was the same.

As regards the conditions that under the present circumstances of India, the British official is the best friend of the race and that he must therefore retain power to protect his world it is clear that his interests can safely be left to his own hands, or that the Legislative Council respect and consider his interests.

The Honorable Mr. Malaviya shows that the fears entertained of the educated classes are groundless, that, as fact, so far the officials have blocked the way to the progress of the nation by neglecting their education, by neglecting the education of life, by neglecting them in the interests of the Service, and by failure to provide employment in industries other than agriculture. By way of contrast, he quotes the resolutions of the Indian National Congress on all these subjects, passed by it every year from 1886 up to date.

"It is regrettable to have to note that the British electronic and its responsible agent, the bureaucracy, which has held absolute power during the period in question, has responded but little to the representations of the educated Indians. In the same period, the Japanese, who were in not half so good a position as India so far as material resources and administrative organization were concerned, have achieved marvellous progress; they have made education universal in their country, given technical and scientific education to their youth to fit them to play their part successfully in every branch—civil, military and naval—of the activity of a civilized country, de-

veloped their industries,—built up their manufactures, promoted national banking and credit,—embodied the prosperity and strength of their people, and raised their country to the position of a first-class world-power whose manufactures are pouring into Europe and India, whose steamers are carrying on its own export and import trade, and whose friendship has been of inestimable value to the British Government in the present crisis."

Then follows a summary of India's services during the War, and strong exceptions are taken to the objections which are urged against full responsible government being as soon granted to the Indian people as the suggestion that the step might be prejudicial to the foreign economy, the foreign trading, and the European members of the Service. The Honorable Mr. Malaviya strongly meets the numerous objections to these objections and remarks:

"I fear that in dealing with the question noted above as well as with many others, one all important condition of the problem has not received sufficient consideration. It is this, that even if the full measure of self-government which we Indians have asked for is conceded, the existing system of administration will not be torn up by the roots. The Executive Government will continue to be predominantly European. It will still have the decisive voice in all matters of administration."

He then says that even from a short-term point of view, it is necessary that India should be made self-supporting.

"It is devoutly to be hoped that it will be settled soon and rightly, that both in the interests of India and of England, English statesmen will realize that India's safety in the future will depend, to a much greater extent than in the past, upon her own eyes being as well opened and equipped to fight as are the sons of the countries that surround her, of Afghanistan, of Persia, of Turkey and of Japan. This

demand that England should make up her mind to treat India now not as a treaty dependent but as a trusted partner, and to admit her sons on a footing of perfect equality with Englishmen to all branches and grades of the military service, on land, on the sea and in the air. But the very grouping manner in which, after nearly half a century of agitation, and after four years of this desecrated war, the question of throwing the King's commissions open to Indians has been dealt with, makes me so despair of the chance of Indians to be tried for the defence of their country being justly dealt with and a celebrated measure of political power as enjoyed by Indians.

The Government of India have decided with the approval of the right Hon. the Secretary of State for India to nominate one (114) Indian gentlemen annually during the war for cadetships in the Royal Military College at Sandhurst, and to offer a certain number of temporary King's commissions in the Indian Army to selected candidates nominated partly from civil life and partly from the army. No number has been fixed for commissions which are to be granted under any of the headings (1), (2) or (3). Indians had hoped that this question of commissions will be dealt with in a broader spirit. They naturally think that adequate justice has not been done to their claims, and they feel bitterly disappointed. But this attitude towards Indians will prevent until Indians come to exercise power in the administration of their country.

This is followed by a strong plea for fiscal autonomy.

"There is yet another condition of the problem of outstanding importance which demands attention, and that is the question of fiscal autonomy."

Towards this and the Honorable gentlemen makes definite suggestions for the improvement of this situation.

1. A definite assurance should be given that it is intended that full responsible government shall be established in India within a period not exceeding twenty years.

"2. It should be laid down that Indians shall be trained for and admitted if they pass the prescribed tests, to the extent of at least a half of the appointments in every branch of the public service, civil and military."

"3. It should be provided that half the number of the members of the Executive Council of the Government of India shall be Indians."

"4. If the proposed Council of State is created, it should be provided that half of its members shall be those elected by electorates, in which Indians predominate."

"5. It should be clearly laid down that existing expenditure on certain services, in particular military charges for the defence of the country shall not be reduced without the consent of the Congress General or Council, but that subject to this provision, the Budget shall be voted by the Legislative Assembly."

6. India should be given the same measure of fiscal autonomy which the self-governing dominions of the Empire will enjoy.

PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT

"1. The Provincial Legislative Councils should be so organized, as to permit of a member being returned from every district or taluqa, or a group or groups thereof, containing a certain minimum of population, and the franchise should be as broad as possible to ensure the adequate representation of every important section, including that of the tenants."

"2. It should be provided that the persons who are to be appointed members of the nominated Councils shall be those who command the confidence of the majority of the elected members."

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(Continued from page 16)

Why does the British Government in India treat men like Mr. Tilak as it does? In the eyes of all right thinking men, in the eyes of all men who believe that "all just government is based upon the consent of the governed," Mr. Tilak is as true a patriot as Washington, certainly he is as true a patriot as General Botha. Why are his steps dogged by police, as if he were a felon? Why does not Great Britain grant its country the Home Rule which is its right, and then have the noble daring, the governments, the wisdom, to appoint not only him but other Indian leaders of big high character and of his confessed ability, to positions of India of high responsibility and honor? If General Botha may become Premier of South Africa, why may not an eminent and honored Indian leader like Mr. Tilak become Governor of Bombay, or Madras, or Bengal, or the Punjab? These great Provinces or Provinces never had able Governors, the Governors were loyal to the British Empire, thus Mr. Tilak would be certain to be, if only India, like South Africa, were free.

Letters We Received

In response to a letter written to him by the President of the India Home Rule League, Mr. Jacob H. Schiff, the well-known New York banker, sends us a contribution of \$100 and remarks:

"Be assured that I have great sympathy with the masses of your people in India, but I have also every confidence that Great Britain, like every other nation, cannot but have learned very considerably from recent world events, and will, in due time, do the things that are needed to do justice to the aspirations of the people of India."

Appeal to President Wilson to apply his democratic principles to India.

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